

Message Text

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S/S - MR. BRIDGES

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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) XA

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S SPEECH IN PHILADELPHIA ON US POLICY
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

HEREWITH TEXT OF SECRETARY'S SPEECH ON US POLICY FOR
SOUTHERN AFRICA, DELIVERED AUGUST 31 IN PHILADELPHIA AT
NATIONAL CONVENTION OF OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION
CENTERS (TEXT IS AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY):

REVEREND SULLIVAN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, FRIENDS:

I AM PROUD TO SPEAK BEFORE THIS REMARKABLE GROUP THAT
SO WELL EMBODIES THE AMERICAN TRADITION OF HUMANE CONCERN
COMBINED WITH PRACTICAL ACTION. AND I WANT TO ADD MY
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VOICE TO THE TRIBUTE YOU HAVE PAID TWO GREAT AMERICANS

IN PRESENTING THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AWARD TO ROY WILKINS. THESE MEN HAVE DEMONSTRATED VIVIDLY THE QUALITIES OF COURAGE AND VISION WHICH HAVE BUILT THIS COUNTRY AND MADE IT A CHAMPION OF DEMOCRATIC AND COMPASSIONATE PRINCIPLES AROUND THE WORLD.

I HAVE COME HERE TODAY TO TALK ABOUT AFRICA -- ONE OF THE COMPELLING CONCERNS OF OUR TIME.

WHEN WE READ OF YOUNG AFRICAN STUDENTS KILLED IN RIOTS, OF GUERRILLA RAIDS, OR REFUGEE CAMPS ATTACKED IN REPRISAL, THE REALITY LIES NOT IN THE COLD STATISTICS THAT THE MEDIA REPORT. IN AFRICA, IT IS THE DEATH OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN; IT MEANS HOPES EXTINGUISHED AND DREAMS SHATTERED. THE GRAND ISSUES OF STRATEGY OR THE COMPLEXITY OF NEGOTIATIONS ARE NO CONSOLATION TO INNOCENT, BRUTALIZED VICTIMS. AS LONG AS THESE CONFLICTS FESTER, AFRICANS OF ALL RACES WILL BE CAUGHT UP IN A WIDENING AND ESCALATING CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. UNTIL THESE WARS ARE ENDED, AFRICA FACES A FUTURE OF DANGER, ANGUISH AND GROWING RISKS OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

THIS IS WHY I WILL LEAVE ON FRIDAY TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS ON THE PRESIDENT'S BEHALF WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA. THIS TRIP WILL BE THE NEXT STEP IN AN INTENSIVE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT USHERED IN BY MY VISIT TO AFRICA IN APRIL. UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A MISSION TO TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAIRE WHERE THEY MET WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF THOSE AFRICAN NATIONS MOST AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA -- THE THIRD SUCH MISSION IN THREE MONTHS. IN CLOSE COLLABORATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN, A SERIOUS EFFORT BY THIS COUNTRY IS NOW UNDERWAY. WE SHALL USE OUR POWER AND INFLUENCE TO HELP RESOLVE THE BURNING CONFLICTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH NOW SUNDER AFRICA'S PEACE, UNITY, AND HOPES FOR PROGRESS.

NEARLY A THIRD OF THE WORLD'S SOME 150 SOVEREIGN NATIONS ARE ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. AFRICA'S UNCLASSIFIED

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INDEPENDENCE -- NOW BARELY TWENTY YEARS OLD -- HAS TRANSFORMED THE CHARACTER AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. AFRICAN NATIONS PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS; THEIR IMPORTANCE TO THE WORLD ECONOMY IS GROWING; THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF AFRICA AND THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD IS OBVIOUS. THUS CONFLICT IN AFRICA HAS POLITICAL, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS THAT REACH FAR BEYOND THE CONTINENT ITSELF.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA IS UNIQUE. WE WERE NEVER A COLONIAL POWER, BUT AMERICA'S CHARACTER AND DESTINY HAVE BEEN PERMANENTLY SHAPED BY OUR INVOLVEMENT IN A TRAGIC ASPECT OF AFRICA'S PAST. TWENTY-THREE MILLION BLACK CITIZENS TESTIFY TO THIS HERITAGE AND ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED BY IT. IN THIS GENERATION, THE

AFFIRMATION OF EQUALITY AND BLACK DIGNITY IN AMERICA HAS COINCIDED WITH THE ASSERTIONS OF BLACK NATIONHOOD IN AFRICA. BOTH REPRESENT A GREAT HUMAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM; BOTH COMPEL OUR SUPPORT IF AMERICA'S PRINCIPLES ARE TO HAVE MEANING.

THE UNITED STATES IS THE ONLY COUNTRY WHICH CAN SPEAK TO ALL SIDES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA'S CURRENT CONFLICTS WE SEEK NO SPECIAL PLACE FOR OURSELVES, AND THUS HAVE AN INFLUENCE THAT CAN BE IMPORTANT FOR A PEACEFUL OUTCOME THAT POSITION CARRIES WITH IT A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE FAIR AND LASTING SOLUTIONS. OUR VALUES, OUR OWN SELF-INTEREST IN AN AFRICA THAT LIVES IN PEACE AND RACIAL HARMONY AND OUR ABIDING COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND WORLD ORDER PERMIT US NO OTHER COURSE.

AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND PROGRESS IN AFRICA CANNOT DEPEND ON GOODWILL AND GOOD INTENTIONS ALONE. NOR CAN OUR POLICY BE CONFINED TO ONE CONTINENT. OUR ABILITY TO ACT EFFECTIVELY IN AFRICA REFLECTS IN LARGE MEASURE OUR STANDING IN THE WORLD -- OUR STRENGTH, OUR VISION, AND OUR REPUTATION FOR RELIABILITY AND STEADFASTNESS.

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IT IS WITH GREAT SATISFACTION, THEREFORE, THAT I CAN TELL YOU THAT AMERICA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS ARE PROSPERING AND DYNAMIC; THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE CLEARLY PREPARED TO DO THEIR PART IN HELPING SHAPE A BETTER AND FREER WORLD.

-- TODAY WE ARE AT PEACE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OVER A DECADE. NO AMERICAN IS IN COMBAT ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

-- WE HAVE THE WORLD'S STRONGEST AND TECHNOLOGICALLY MOST ADVANCED MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

-- OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES IN NORTH AMERICA, WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. OUR

CLOSE COOPERATION ON A WIDE RANGE OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES NOW REINFORCES OUR TRADITIONAL CONCERN WITH COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

-- WE HAVE ESTABLISHED DURABLE NEW RELATIONS WITH CHINA, THE WORLD'S MOST POPULOUS NATION. THIS RELATIONSHIP WILL HOLD GREAT SIGNIFICANCE FOR GLOBAL STABILITY AND PROGRESS AS WE CONTINUE TO BROADEN IT IN THE YEARS TO COME.

-- WE ARE ON THE ROAD TO BRINGING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST AFTER UNPRECEDENTED PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS.

-- WE HAVE REDUCED THE LEVELS OF TENSION WITH THE SOVIET UNION, RESOLVED SOME CONFLICTS, AND BEGUN TO PUSH BACK THE SPECTRE OF NUCLEAR WAR. WE HAVE SLOWED THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE, AND THERE IS HOPE THAT WE MAY SOON, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, SET A FIRM CEILING ON THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE TWO MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS.

-- AND WE HAVE BEGUN A COMPREHENSIVE AND PROMISING DIALOGUE WITH THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA, ASIA, AND AFRICA ON FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC EQUITY AND PROGRESS.

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IN SHORT, AMERICA HAS COME THROUGH A DECADE AND MORE OF TRAVAIL WITH UNMATCHED STRENGTH AND RESILIENCY, AND WITH A REINFORCED DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM. AMERICA WITH ITS VAST STRENGTH REMAINS THE HOPE OF THE WORLD; AMERICA WITH ITS OPTIMISM AND ENERGY REMAINS THE TIDE OF THE FUTURE.

AND WE OURSELVES HAVE MUCH AT STAKE. NEVER BEFORE HAS THE WELL-BEING OF AMERICANS BEEN SO AFFECTED BY EVENTS ABROAD. OUR OWN PEACE AND SAFETY DEPEND ON GLOBAL SECURITY; OUR PROSPERITY AT HOME DEPENDS ON A FLOURISHING GLOBAL ECONOMY.

NOWHERE ARE CONTEMPORARY EVENTS MOVING MORE RAPIDLY THAN IN AFRICA. WITHIN RECENT MONTHS SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS FACED AN IMMINENT, SEEMINGLY INESCAPABLE PROSPECT OF WIDENING VIOLENCE, ECONOMIC DISARRAY AND A VIRULENT NEW FORM OF COLONIALISM. THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS CUBAN SURROGATE TOOK UPON THEMSELVES THE RIGHT OF MASSIVE MILITARY INTERVENTION. TIME HAS BEEN RUNNING OUR FAST FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS -- THE ONLY ALTERNA-

TIVE TO MOUNTING WARFARE WHICH COULD EMBITTER AND BURDEN
THE REGION FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

CHANGE HAS COME TO AFRICA WITH ASTONISHING SWIFT-
NESS. THIRTY YEARS AGO, MUCH OF AFRICA WAS THE DOMINION
OF EUROPEAN POWERS; TODAY WE SEE A CONTINENT OF FORTY-
NINE INDEPENDENT NEW NATIONS STRUGGLING AGAINST TIME,
AGAINST THE ELEMENTS, AND AGAINST THE FORCES OF
INSTABILITY, TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR NATIONHOOD.

AFRICA SEEKS TO ACHIEVE THREE FUNDAMENTAL GOALS;
SELF-DETERMINATION AND RACIAL JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA; ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS FOR ALL OF
AFRICA; AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE CONTINENT'S UNITY
AND INTEGRITY AGAINST OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE AND GREAT-
POWER RIVALRY.

THE PACE OF CHANGE HAS ACCELERATED IN THE LAST
TWO YEARS IN EVERY DIMENSION.

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-- THE SUDDEN COLLAPSE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL
EMPIRE WROUGHT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
THE REMAINING OUTPOSTS OF COLONIALISM WERE NOW IN AN
UNTENABLE POSITION. BUT CIVIL WAR WITHIN THE LIBERA-
TION MOVEMENT IN ANGOLA, SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION,
AND THE CONTINUING MASSIVE CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN
ANGOLA, RAISED THE DANGER THAT FOREIGN POWERS ACTING FOR
THEIR OWN ENDS WOULD SEEK TO IMPOSE SOLUTIONS TO ALL THE
PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

-- NEW EFFORTS TO FIND NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS FOR THE
RACIAL CONFLICTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA FAILED. THE
FORCES FOR MODERATION IN BLACK AFRICA RISKED IRRELEVANCE.

THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WERE MENACED BY A MOUNTING
SPIRAL OF ACTION AND REPRISAL. A COURSE OF VIOLENCE
FROM WHICH NO NATION WAS SAFE HAD BEEN SET IN MOTION.

-- WORLDWIDE RECESSION AND THE SHARP RISE IN OIL
PRICES HAS A DRASTIC IMPACT ON THE POOREST NATIONS, MANY
OF THEM AFRICAN. DEVELOPMENT PLANS WERE CRIPPLED BY
THE FALL OF EXPORT EARNINGS AND BY THE SURGE OF PRICES
FOR FUEL, FERTILIZER, AND OTHER KEY IMPORTS. NEW
CYCLES OF DROUGHT AND FAMINE HALTED ECONOMIC PROGRESS
AND INTENSIFIED THE SUFFERING OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS
OF PEOPLE.

AGAINST THIS OMINOUS BACKDROP, PRESIDENT FORD,

LAST APRIL, DECIDED ON A NEW AMERICAN INITIATIVE IN SUPPORT OF PEACE, RACIAL JUSTICE, PROSPERITY AND INDEPENDENCE FOR AFRICA. OUR OFFER OF HELP AND CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE WAS STRONGLY ENCOURAGED BY THE LEADERS OF AFRICA.

WITH WISDOM AND FLEXIBILITY BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED, AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WE HAVE A CHANCE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF AFRICA. WE CAN, IF WE WILL, PARTICIPATE IN A NEW

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BIRTH OF INDEPENDENCE AND RACIAL PEACE; WE CAN, IF WE WILL, HELP SHAPE A NEW INTERNATIONAL DEDICATION TO AFRICA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; AND WE CAN, IF WE WILL, CONTRIBUTE TO AN AFRICA STRONG AND FREE OF THE THREAT OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION.

THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT OUR CURRENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORT WILL SUCCEED. IT WOULD BE NAIVE TO SUGGEST THAT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO ISSUES SO SURROUNDED BY PASSIONS IS INEVITABLE. BUT WHATEVER THE IMMEDIATE OUTCOME, LET IT NEVER BE SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT EXERT ITSELF WITH ENERGY AND DETERMINATION IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY AT A MOMENT OF NEED AND OPPORTUNITY.

LET ME DISCUSS WITH YOU WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, AND WHAT YET REMAINS TO BE DONE.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

MOST URGENT HAS BEEN THE MOUNTING RACIAL CONFLICT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA -- IN RHODESIA, IN NAMIBIA, AND IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF.

THE WHITE MINORITY REGIME IN RHODESIA, REPRESENTING ONLY SOME FOUR PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, IS NOT

RECOGNIZED BY A SINGLE GOVERNMENT -- NOT EVEN BY NEIGHBORING SOUTH AFRICA. ITS UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN IN NOVEMBER 1965 IS REGARDED AS ILLEGAL BY EVERY MEMBER OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THREE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE SUPPORTED BRITAIN THROUGHOUT ITS LONG EFFORT TO RESTORE ITS CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY; BRITAIN HAS BEEN -- AND REMAINS -- COMMITTED TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE ONLY UNDER

CONDITIONS OF MAJORITY RULE.

EARLY THIS YEAR, NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ILLEGAL
WHITE MINORITY REGIME AND MODERATE BLACK NATIONALIST
LEADERS BROKE DOWN. GUERRILLA ACTION INTENSIFIED;
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RAPIDLY ESCALATING VIOLENCE THREATENED TO ENGULF THE
REGION.

WHILE RHODESIA IS THE MOST IMMEDIATELY DANGEROUS
PROBLEM, NAMIBIA IS ALSO OF URGENT CONCERN.

FROM 1920, SOUTH AFRICA ADMINISTERED THE FORMER

GERMANY COLONY OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA UNDER A LEAGUE OF
NATIONS MANDATE. IN 1966, THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF
JUSTICE CONCLUDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS VIOLATING IM-
PORTANT OBLIGATIONS. AS A RESULT, THE UNITED NATIONS,
WITH UNITED STATES SUPPORT, TERMINATED SOUTH AFRICA'S
MANDATE. THE UNITED NATIONS ASSUMED DIRECT RESPONSI-
BILITY FOR THE TERRITORY. SOUTH AFRICA, HOWEVER,
STAYED ON. IN 1971 THE COURT CONCLUDED THAT SOUTH
AFRICA'S OCCUPATION WAS ILLEGAL, THAT IT MUST IMMEDIATE-
LY WITHDRAW, AND THAT NO COUNTRY SHOULD RECOGNIZE,
SUPPORT OR ASSIST SOUTH AFRICA IN NAMIBIA. THE
UNITED STATES HAS CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THE CONCLUS-
IONS OF THE COURT AND THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL. THE LATEST RESOLUTION, UNANIMOUSLY PASSED
LAST JANUARY, CALLS ON SOUTH AFRICA TO COMPLY WITH
THE COURT'S CONCLUSIONS; TO DECLARE ITS ACCEPTANCE OF
FREE ELECTIONS UNDER U.N. SUPERVISION AND CONTROL;
AND TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF NAMIBIANS AND THE RESPON-
SIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE SECURITY COUNCIL
DECIDED TO REVIEW SOUTH AFRICA'S COMPLIANCE ON OR
BEFORE TODAY, AUGUST 31, 1976.

NAMIBIA, LIKE RHODESIA, CONTAINS THE SEEDS OF
GREATER CONFLICT. THERE, TOO, TIME IS RUNNING OUT.
WITH THOUSANDS OF FOREIGN TROOPS NORTH OF THE NAMIBIAN
BORDER AND WITH INTENSIFYING WARFARE IN RHODESIA, A
VOLATILE SITUATION IS EMERGING.

AND IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, THE RECENT OUTBREAKS
OF RACIAL VIOLENCE HAVE UNDERSCORED THE INEVITABLE IN-
STABILITY OF A SYSTEM THAT INSTITUTIONALIZED HUMAN
INEQUALITY IN A WAY REPUGNANT TO THE WORLD'S CONSCIENCE.

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THEREFORE, IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA IN APRIL, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD I PUT FORWARD AN AMERICAN INITIATIVE WHICH ADDRESSED THE FULL SWEEP OF THE CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

-- WE PROMISED THAT WE WOULD ACTIVELY SUPPORT CALLAGHAN'S PROPOSAL FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA IN TWO YEARS OR LESS. WE URGED THE AFRICAN PARTIES INVOLVED TO PURSUE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN WHICH BLACK AND WHITE COULD COEXIST AND COOPERATE. WE STATED OUR READINESS TO ASSIST A NEW RHODESIA -- ZIMBABWE --

TO OVERCOME ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS, SO THAT IT COULD EFFECTIVELY TAKE ITS PLACE IN THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

-- WE URGED SOUTH AFRICA TO SET A DATE FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE, AND TO BROADEN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. IN OUR VIEW, ALL THE POLITICAL GROUPS OF NAMIBIA SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES FREELY, UNDER U.N. SUPERVISION, AND TO PARTICIPATE IN SHAPING THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL FUTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY.

-- AND I RESTATED ON AFRICAN SOIL AMERICA'S REJECTION OF THE PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID. I CALLED ON SOUTH AFRICA TO DEMONSTRATE ITS COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND HARMONY ON THE CONTINENT BY FACILITATING EARLY SOLUTIONS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

UNMISTAKABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE SINCE THIS AMERICAN INITIATIVE:

-- THE CHARACTER OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH BLACK AFRICA HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED. OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE NATIONS OF BLACK AFRICA HAS BECOME CLOSE AND INTENSIVE. MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT BETWEEN AMERICA AND BLACK AFRICA HAS GROWN SUBSTANTIALLY. WE ARE NOW SEEN AS ACTIVE AGENTS IN THE PROCESS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE, SELF-DETERMINATION, JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY IN

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AFRICA, NOT AS PASSIVE OBSERVERS.

-- SINCE MY TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN

JUNE, SOUTH AFRICA HAS PUBLICLY PROCLAIMED ITS SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA -- AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD.

-- IN NAMIBIA, THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY SOUTH AFRICA HAS RECENTLY PROPOSED A DATE OF DECEMBER 31, 1978 FOR NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE, CONCEDED THE VITAL PRINCIPLES OF INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE. THE MEANS AND PROCESSES BY WHICH THE COUNTRY MOVES TO INDEPENDENCE MUST STILL BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE INTERESTED PARTIES, BUT THE FACT THAT NAMIBIA WILL SHORTLY BE INDEPENDENT IS IN ITSELF, A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH.

THESE SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS SHOW THAT PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. BUT THE OBSTACLES TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT REMAIN FORMIDABLE.

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IN RHODESIA, IT IS NOW VITAL TO BRING TOGETHER THE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICA, THE VARIOUS LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, SOUTH AFRICA AND OF THE RHODESIAN REGIME ON A COMMON PROGRAM. NAMIBIA WILL NOT BE REMOVED FROM THE WORLD'S AGENDA OF CRISES UNTIL A MEANS

AND A FORUM ARE FOUND FOR WORKING OUT NAMIBIA'S POLITICAL FUTURE ON THE BASIS OF PARTICIPATION BY ALL AUTHENTIC GROUPS.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO BE HIGHLY VOLATILE; IT POSES A THREAT NOT ONLY OF INTENSIFIED SUFFERING WITHIN THAT COUNTRY BUT ALSO TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ABILITY TO ASSIST CONSTRUCTIVELY IN SOLUTIONS FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

THE TASK OF DIPLOMACY IS TO FIND THE COMMON
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GROUND AMONG THE DIFFERING OBJECTIVES OF THE MULTITUDE OF NATIONS AND GROUPS INVOLVED. OUR CONSULTATIONS HAVE CONVINCED US THAT THERE IS COMMON GROUND. BUT ALL PARTIES MUST OVERCOME THE LEGACY

OF GENERATIONS OF MISTRUST; ALL MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT THE DESIRE TO ACHIEVE EVERYTHING AT ONCE MAY FRUSTRATE THE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS WHICH MAY NOW BE ATTAINABLE.

WE SHALL BE CARRYING THIS MESSAGE:

--THE WHITE POPULATIONS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA MUST
RECOGNIZE THAT MAJORITY RULE IS INEVITABLE. THE ONLY
ISSUE IS WHAT FORM IT WILL TAKE AND HOW IT WILL
COME ABOUT. WILL IT BE THROUGH PROTRACTED AND
BLOODY CONFLICT THAT WILL LEAVE A HERITAGE OF
BITTERNESS AND DESTRUCTION OF GENERATIONS? OR
WILL IT COME RAPIDLY THROUGH THE PEACEFUL MEANS
WHICH OFFER HOPE FOR A JUST AND COOPERATIVE FUTURE
IN WHICH MAJORITY RULE IS COUPLED WITH A GUARANTEE
OF MINORITY RIGHTS?

--SOUTH AFRICA HAS TAKEN POSITIVE STEPS WITH RESPECT
TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. WE HOPE THAT IT WILL
CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO
MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICA BY
COMMITTING ITSELF TO RAPID PROGRESS TOWARDS
INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

--BLACK AFRICA LEADERS IN THE STATES NEIGHBORING
RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA HAVE PERHAPS THE MOST DIFFICULT
CHALLENGE. THEY FEEL IN THEIR HEARTS THE SUFFERING
OF THEIR BROTHERS; THEY HAVE THEMSELVES EXPERIENCED
THE OPPRESSION OF COLONIAL RULE; AND THEY HAVE SEEN
PAST EFFORTS OF SETTLEMENTS FADE AWAY. ALL THEIR
INSTINCTS ARE FOR RAPID SOLUTIONS WITHOUT THE TEDIOUS
GIVE-AND-TAKE OF NEGOTIATIONS. AND YET VIOLENCE WILL
ONLY ESCALATE BLOODSHED AND LENGTHEN, RATHER THAN
SHORTEN, THE ROAD TO THEIR GOAL. THE WISDOM AND
MODERATING INFLUENCE OF BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS ARE
ESSENTIAL IF PROGRESS IS TO BE ACHIEVED. THEIR OWN
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SUFFERING MUST HAVE TAUGHT THAT NEW INJUSTICE DOES
NOT RIGHT OLD INJUSTICE. THEY NOW HAVE THE
OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK THE VICIOUS CYCLE OF CENTURIES
OF SUFFERING BY SEIZING THIS OPPORTUNITY NOT FOR
CONFLICT BUT FOR RECONCILIATION OF THE RACES.

--BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS COMPETING FOR POWER MUST
BRIDGE THEIR DIFFERENCES IF THERE IS TO BE EARLY
PROGRESS TO MAJORITY RULE. WE WILL URGE THEM NOT TO
JEOPARDIZE EVERYTHING BY PERSONAL COMPETITION FOR
POWER. THOSE RIVALRIES ARE CERTAIN TO DELAY -- AND
MAY EVEN DEFEAT -- THE REALIZATION OF WHAT THEY HAVE
FOUGHT SO LONG TO ATTAIN.

A COMPLEX PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION IS UNDERWAY ON THE
URGENT ISSUES OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. THESE ISSUES ARE
RELATED BUT WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE REQUIREMENT FOR

SOLUTIONS IN EACH CASE ARE SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT. IF CIRCUMSTANCES SO INDICATE, EACH ISSUE CAN BE DEALT WITH AT THE PACE APPROPRIATE TO IT. DEPENDING ON THE DESIRES OF THE MANY INTERESTED PARTIES, WE ARE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH EACH ISSUE ON ITS INDIVIDUAL MERITS.

MOST IMPORTANTLY, ALL PARTIES MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT LOST OPPORTUNITIES CAN BE IRRETRIEVABLE; THERE ARE NOW CONDITIONS FOR SETTling BOTH ISSUES THAT DID NOT EXIST PREVIOUSLY AND MAY NEVER DO SO AGAIN. IT WOULD BE IRONIC, TO SAY THE LEAST, AFTER YEARS OF STRUGGLE, HOPE AND DISAPPOINTMENT, THOSE WHO HAVE THE MOST TO GAIN SHOULD LET THE OPPORTUNITY SLIP AWAY BECAUSE OF INTERNAL DISAGREEMENTS.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THIS EFFORT WILL BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE SUCCESS AND DURABILITY OF ANY SETTLEMENT THAT MAY EVENTUALLY EMERGE. OUR GOALS -- TO END THE SUFFERING AND VIOLENCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, TO BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY RIGHTS -- REFLECT WHAT IS BEST IN AMERICAN VALUES. THEY ARE A FIRM FOUNDATION FOR OUR COMMON COMMITMENT; THEY ARE NOT CONFINED TO ONE PARTY OR ONE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT. THEY REPRESENT AN AMERICAN EFFORT.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL PROBLEMS ARE MORE COMPLEX. IN LUSAKA IN APRIL I POINTED OUT THAT SOUTH AFRICAN ASSISTANCE IN BRINGING ABOUT RAPID NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WOULD BE VIEWED POSITIVELY BY THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS AS WELL AS BY THE REST OF AFRICA. AND I MUST POINT OUT HERE THAT SINCE THEN SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE -- WITH RESPECT TO THESE TWO PROBLEMS -- HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE.

AS FOR CONDITIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, ITSELF, THE WORLD, AND MOST BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS, RECOGNIZE SOUTH AFRICA AS AN AFRICAN COUNTRY. ITS WHITE SETTLERS HAVE LIVED ON AFRICAN SOIL FOR CENTURIES. NO ONE, INCLUDING THE RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICA, CHALLENGES THEIR RIGHT TO REMAIN THERE. UNLIKE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA CANNOT BE REGARDED AS AN ILLEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, AS AN OUTSIDE COLONIAL INTRUSION.

BUT SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNAL STRUCTURE IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH ANY CONCEPT OF HUMAN DIGNITY. WE ARE DEEPLY SADDEN BY THE RECENT AND CONTINUING CLASHES IN BLACK URBAN TOWNSHIPS, UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA. THEY ARE DRAMATIC EVIDENCE OF THE FRUSTRATION OF

BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS TOWARD A SYSTEM WHICH DENIES THEM STATUS, EQUALITY, AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. NO SYSTEM THAT LEADS TO PERIODIC UPHEAVALS AND VIOLENCE CAN POSSIBLY BE JUST OR ACCEPTABLE -- NOR CAN IT LAST.

THE UNITED STATES MUST BE TRUE TO ITS OWN BELIEFS. WE URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO TAKE ACCOUNT TO THE CONSCIENCE OF HUMANITY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE ALL OUR INFLUENCE TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL CHANGE, EQUALITY OR OPPORTUNITY, AND BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. OUR POLICY IS BASED UPON THE PREMISE THAT WITHIN A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME WE WILL SEE A CLEAR EVOLUTION TOWARD JUST INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS. IN OUR TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER, AND IN OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, WE WILL IMPRESS UPON SOUTH AFRICA THE NEED TO MAKE THIS PREMISE A REALITY.

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ECONOMIC PROGRESS

IT IS ECONOMIC PROGRESS WHICH ULTIMATELY WILL DETERMINE WHETHER AFRICA CAN FULFILL THE ASPIRATIONS OF ITS PEOPLES.

YOU HERE AT THIS CONVENTION KNOW THAT THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION IS FUNDAMENTAL. YOU KNOW FULL WELL, AS A BLACK MISSISSIPPI POLITICIAN SAID RECENTLY, THAT QUOTE IT'S NO GOOD BEING ABLE TO JOIN THE COUNTRY CLUB IF YOU HAVEN'T GOT THE MONEY TO BUY A DRINK. UNQUOTE.

AND YOU ARE TAKING ACTION.

AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT NEEDS ARE MASSIVE AND YOUR OIC PROGRAMS STRIKE AT THEIR HEART: VOCATIONAL TRAINING TO TEACH THE SKILLS THAT AFRICA NEEDS TO REALIZE IT POTENTIAL REGARDLESS OF CHANGING POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. A MECHANIC'S TRAINING OR A CARPENTER'S TRADE CAN BE PRACTICED IN THE MOST TURBULENT TIMES; POLITICAL UPHEAVALS CANNOT DIMINISH THE INDIVIDUAL'S SENSE OF WORTH WHICH YOUR TRAINING INSTILLS. WE GIVE YOU CONCRETE SUPPORT THROUGH THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. BUT IT IS YOUR INITIATIVE AND ENERGY WHICH HAS TURNED THAT SUPPORT INTO SOMETHING VITAL AND ALIVE.

BEYOND ITS NEED FOR SKILLED MANPOWER, AFRICA'S ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS CONFRONT A WIDE RANGE OF OTHER CHALLENGES.

AFRICA IS BLESSED WITH IMMENSE NATURAL WEALTH. THE RATIO OF POPULATION TO RESOURCES IS AS FAVORABLE AS THAT OF ANY REGION OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY CAN BE VASTLY IMPROVED.

BUT NO CONTINENT SUFFERS SO CRUELLY WHEN CROPS FAIL FOR LACK OF RAIN. NO CONTINENT'S NATURAL ECONOMIC REGIONS ARE SO FRAGMENTED BY BORDERS DRAWN UP -- OFTEN ARBITRARILY -- IN THE COLONIAL ERA. AND NO CONTINENT BEARS SUCH A CRUSHING BURDEN OF POVERTY AND ILLITERACY.

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AFRICA IS DOUBLY CHALLENGED -- BY RECURRENT ECONOMIC CATASTROPHES, AND BY THE NEED FOR LONG-TERM GROWTH. THE UNITED STATES IS DEALING WITH THE VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF THE TASK:

--TO PROVIDE RELIEF FROM NATURAL DISASTERS, DROUGHT AND FAMINE, WE HAVE, IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS, MORE THAN QUADRUPLLED EMERGENCY AID TO AFRICAN NATIONS.

--AMERICAN TRADE AND INVESTMENT ARE CRUCIAL FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT. WHILE THEY ARE RAPIDLY EXPANDING, THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH, ESPECIALLY FOR THE POOREST COUNTRIES. THEREFORE, WE PLAN TO INCREASE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FOR AFRICA SUBSTANTIALLY OVER THE COMING YEARS -- ESPECIALLY FOR THE LEAST-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

--BECAUSE AFRICA'S NEEDS FREQUENTLY TRANSCEND THE LIMITS OF NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, WE ARE NOW DIRECTING MUCH OF OUR ASSISTANCE TO SUPPORT REGIONAL COOPERATION -- IN TRANSPORTATION, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, HEALTH PROGRAMS, AND IN COLLECTING INFORMATION BY SATELLITE ON CROPS, WEATHER, WATER RESOURCES, LAND USE, AND MINERAL EXTRACTION.

WHAT AFRICA REQUIRES ABOVE ALL ELSE IS A STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SAHEL, THE CHRONICALLY DROUGHT-RIDDEN REGION ON THE SOUTHERN EDGE OF THE SAHARA DESERT, HAS BEEN A MAJOR RECIPIENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSISTANCE. THE MONUMENTAL SUFFERING IN THAT AREA HAS PROMPTED THE GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS OF MANY INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS, AS WELL AS LARGE-SCALE GOVERNMENT RELIEF EFFORTS.

BUT THE DISASTERS WHICH AFFLICT THE SAHEL COME IN RECURRENT CYCLES. THEY ARE ALTERING THE ECOLOGY ACROSS CENTRAL AND WESTERN AFRICA; THE DESERT IS STEADILY ENCROACHING UPON ONCE-FERTILE LANDS.

THE TIME HAS COME TO GO BEYOND PERIODIC MEASURES
OF RELIEF AND TO TAKE COMPREHENSIVE STEPS. TO THIS END
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THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH AN INTERNATIONAL GROUP
OF DONOR COUNTRIES IS SEEKING TO REVERSE THE ECONOMIC
AND ECOLOGICAL DECLINE OF THE SAHEL AND LAY THE FOUNDATIONS
FOR FUTURE GROWTH. WE HAVE PROPOSED DEVELOPING MAJOR
RIVER BASINS TO IMPROVE WATER SUPPLY; INCREASING CROP
ACREAGE BY MODERN AGRICULTURAL METHODS; IMPROVING FOOD
STORAGE FACILITIES; AND ENHANCING THE TRANSPORTATION
NETWORK OF THE AREA.

THE LONG-TERM EFFORT IN THE SAHEL, AND OTHERS NEEDED
ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, WILL REQUIRE INTENSIFIED COOPERATION
AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF NORTH AMERICA, WESTERN
EUROPE, AND JAPAN. THIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES HAS
ENDORSED THE IMAGINATIVE PROPOSAL OF PRESIDENT GISCARD OF
FRANCE FOR A FUND TO ORGANIZE AND COORDINATE WESTERN
ASSISTANCE EFFORTS FOR AFRICA. AND WE ARE SEEKING WITHIN
THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
A MORE GENERAL COORDINATION OF DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AMONG
THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES.

AFRICA IS HEAVILY DEPENDENT UPON THE WORLD ECONOMY.
NO AFRICAN NATION CAN PLAN ITS FUTURE EFFECTIVELY IF ITS
INCOME IS BUFFETED BY EXTERNAL ECONOMIC FORCES OVER WHICH
IT HAS LITTLE OR NO INFLUENCE. THE EXPORT EARNINGS OF
MANY AFRICAN ECONOMIES RELY UPON GLOBAL MARKET CONDITIONS
FOR A SINGLE COMMODITY. AND HIGHER ENERGY PRICES OR
INFLATION ABROAD CAN -- AS THEY HAVE -- RAISE TO PROHIBI-
TIVE LEVELS THE PRICE OF IMPORTS THAT AFRICA DESPERATELY
NEEDS.

ONE YEAR AGO, AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE UNITED STATES PRESENTED A
COMPREHENSIVE SERIES OF PROPOSALS AIMED AT RESPONDING IN
A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT TO THE NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES. WE HAVE FOLLOWED UP THESE INITIATIVES WITH
MAJOR EFFORTS AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AT THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NAIROBI, IN MANY OTHER
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. MANY OF OUR PROPOSALS HAVE
BEEN IMPLEMENTED AND HAVE HAD A DIRECT IMPACT ON AFRICA.

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SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE PAST YEAR IN SHAPING THE LONG-TERM ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HEMISPHERES. THE INITIATIVES WHICH NOW FORM THE AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION ARE, BY AND LARGE, PROPOSALS MADE BY THE UNITED STATES. BUT MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD IN AREAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE NATIONS OF AFRICA. FOR EXAMPLE:

--WE ARE PREPARED TO ADDRESS THE CRUSHING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS AND DEBT BURDENS WHICH MANY POOR AFRICAN NATIONS SUFFER AS A RESULT OF HIGH OIL PRICES, GLOBAL INFLATION AND THE RECESSION-RELATED DOWNTURN IN EXPORT EARNINGS.

--WE ARE PREPARED TO JOIN WITH PRODUCERS AND CONSUMER OF KEY COMMODITIES TO EXPLORE MEASURES TO IMPROVE AND STABILIZE MARKETS. WE ARE READY TO PARTICIPATE IN PRODUCER-CONSUMER FORUMS IN WAYS THAT WILL BENEFIT AFRICA.

--WE WILL SEEK SATISFACTORY INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENT TO FOSTER THE INVESTMENT NECESSARY FOR AFRICA'S GROWTH -- ARRANGEMENTS WHICH BOTH RESPECT NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND ASSURE PREDICTABILITY AND FAIR TREATMENT FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS;

--WE HAVE PROPOSED IN THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS TO REDUCE TARIFFS FOR TROPICAL PRODUCTS WHICH ARE OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO AFRICA.

--WE ARE SEEKING AUTHORIZATION FROM CONGRESS TO MAKE AN INITIAL CONTRIBUTION OF DOLS 15 MILLION TO THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK'S DEVELOPMENT FUND IN ORDER TO FOSTER INDUSTRIALIZATION.

--AND WE WILL MAKE MAJOR EFFORTS TO STIMULATE THE FLOW OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY TO AFRICA SO AS TO PROMOTE GROWTH AND DIVERSIFY ECONOMIES NOW EXCESSIVELY DEPENDENT ON A SINGLE COMMODITY.

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THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THE NATIONS OF AFRICA AND WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND FULLER PARTICIPATION IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM. BUT WE MUST BE FRANK TO SAY THAT RHETORICAL ASSAULTS AND ONE-SIDED

DECLARATIONS UNDERMINE THE CONDITIONS FOR SUCH COOPERATION.
THEY WEAKEN PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES WHOSE EFFECTIVE AND SUSTAINED ROLE
IS CRUCIAL. NO OTHER GROUP OF COUNTRIES -- LEAST OF ALL
THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES -- IS ABLE TO PROVIDE THE
TECHNOLOGY, THE MANAGERIAL EXPERTISE, OR THE RESOURCES.

MANY OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE JUST CONCLUDED
NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN COLOMBO WERE CLEARLY ANYTHING
BUT NON-ALIGNED IN CONTENT OR PHRASEOLOGY. WE REJECT
SUCH ONE-SIDED PROCLAMATIONS AND WARN THAT TO BE EFFECTIVE
NON-ALIGNMENT MUST BE TRUE TO ITS NAME. IT CANNOT --
INDEED IT WILL NOT -- BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY IF IT BECOMES
NOTHING MORE THAN A RIGID GROUPING AIMED AT PRODUCING
AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES AND RHETORICAL ATTACKS AGAINST THE
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES.

THE CHOICE THAT ALL NATIONS FACE IS BETWEEN
COOPERATION AND CHAOS. AMERICA HAS MADE ITS DECISION FOR
COOPERATION. WE INVITE OTHERS TO JOIN US IN THE SAME
SPIRIT.

AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE: PRECONDITION FOR PROGRESS

AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE IF THE
INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY OF THE CONTINENT ARE NOT
MAINTAINED. AFRICA MUST NOT AGAIN BECOME AN ARENA IN
WHICH OUTSIDE POWERS CONTEST FOR SPHERES OF INFLUENCE.

THIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES AGREED WITH THE
PRESIDENTS OF BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA, AND ZAMBIA
THAT NON-AFRICAN NATIONS SHOULD NOT DEAL DIRECTLY WITH
THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA -- TO AVOID
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THE DIVISIONS AND THE COMPETITION WHICH LED TO THE TRAGEDIES
OF THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR. WE OPPOSE THOSE WHO WOULD
SUBJECT THE AFRICAN PEOPLE TO OUTSIDE DOMINATION. WESTERN
COLONIALISM IN AFRICA IS DYING, IT MUST NOT NOW BE
REPLACED BY A NEW FORM OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTION MORE
INSIDIOUS BECAUSE LESS FAMILIAR WHICH IN THE END MAY TAKE
GENERATIONS TO ROOT OUT.

THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NO AFRICAN BLOC OF ITS OWN,
NO PARAMOUNT INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. WE WILL OPPOSE ALL
THOSE WHO DO. THE UNITED STATES CALLS ON ALL NATIONS TO
AFFIRM THE PRINCIPLE THAT AFRICA'S DESTINY IS FOR AFRICA

TO DETERMINE. THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT IMPORT GREAT POWER CONFLICT INTO AFRICA. WE WILL EXPECT OTHERS TO DO THE SAME.

THERE IS NO BETTER GUARANTEE AGAINST FOREIGN INTERVENTION THAN THE DETERMINATION OF AFRICAN NATIONS TO DEFEND THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY. LET US, THEREFORE, NOT MINIMIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SECURITY PROBLEMS THAT SOME AFRICAN NATIONS FACE. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS CERTAINLY A CRUCIAL PRIORITY; BUT BY ITSELF IT CANNOT PREVENT OUTSIDE PRESSURE OR THREATS TO AFRICAN SOVEREIGNTY. SO LET US NOT ACCEPT THE FACILE PROPOSITION THAT BLACK AFRICAN NATIONS DO NOT HAVE THE SAME NEED AS OTHER NATIONS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST RECOGNIZED DANGERS -- ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY PERCEIVE SERIOUS AND IMMINENT THREATS FROM NEARBY NATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN HEAVILY ARMED BY THE SOVIET UNION. WE ARE DETERMINED TO AVOID UNNECESSARY ARMS RACES. BUT WHEN FRIENDLY AND MODERATE NATIONS LIKE KENYA OR ZAIRE MAKE MODEST AND RESPONSIBLE REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AGAINST BELLIGERENT NEIGHBORS POSSESSING SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF MODERN SOVIET WEAPONS, WE OWE THEM OUR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

AFRICA AND THE WORLD

ONE FACT IS CLEAR: A TIME OF CHANGE HAS COME AGAIN
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TO AFRICA. LET US ALL TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY BEFORE US TO AVOID A FUTURE OF BITTERNESS, ESCALATING WAR, AND FOREIGN INTERVENTION. LET US ALL HELP A PEACEFUL, AND PROSPERING, AND JUST AFRICA TAKE ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE WORLD.

WHAT AFRICA NEEDS NOW IS NOT A RETURN TO THE EXPLOITIVE OR INTERVENTIONIST PRACTICES OF DECADES PAST. NOR DOES IT NEED EXUBERANT PROMISES AND VAPID EXPRESSIONS OF GOODWILL. IT REQUIRES CONCRETE COMMITMENTS TO PROGRESS -- POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC. IT REQUIRES OUR READINESS TO COOPERATE AS SOVEREIGN EQUALS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT.

IN THIS SPIRIT, THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS PART. LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE: AFRICA WILL TAKE ITS DESTINY FIRMLY INTO ITS OWN HANDS, WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT. IT WILL MAKE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY IN ITS OWN WAY, WHETHER WE COOPERATE OR NOT. BUT THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, NOT ONLY FOR OURSELVES, BUT FOR ALL

MANKIND WILL BE VITALLY AFFECTED BY THE PART AMERICA
PLAYS. WE CAN TURN OUR BACKS ON ONE OF THE MOST MASSIVE
AWAKENINGS OF A PEOPLE IN HISTORY, AND IN THE PROCESS
DESERT OUR PRINCIPLES AND HELP DOOM A CONTINENT TO A
FUTURE OF DESPAIR.

OR WE CAN, AS EVERY GENERATION OF AMERICANS BEFORE US,
MAKE HISTORY OURS.

I BELIEVE AMERICANS WILL CHOOSE THE COURSE OF HOPE
AND HEART. AND BY SO DOING WE WILL ONCE AGAIN HAVE
DEMONSTRATED THE VITALITY OF OUR VALUES AND GIVEN THE
WORLD A QUOTE NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM. UNQUOTE. ROBINSON

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